

LITTLE BLUE BOOK NO. 126
Edited by E. Haldeman-Julius

History of Rome

Clement Wood



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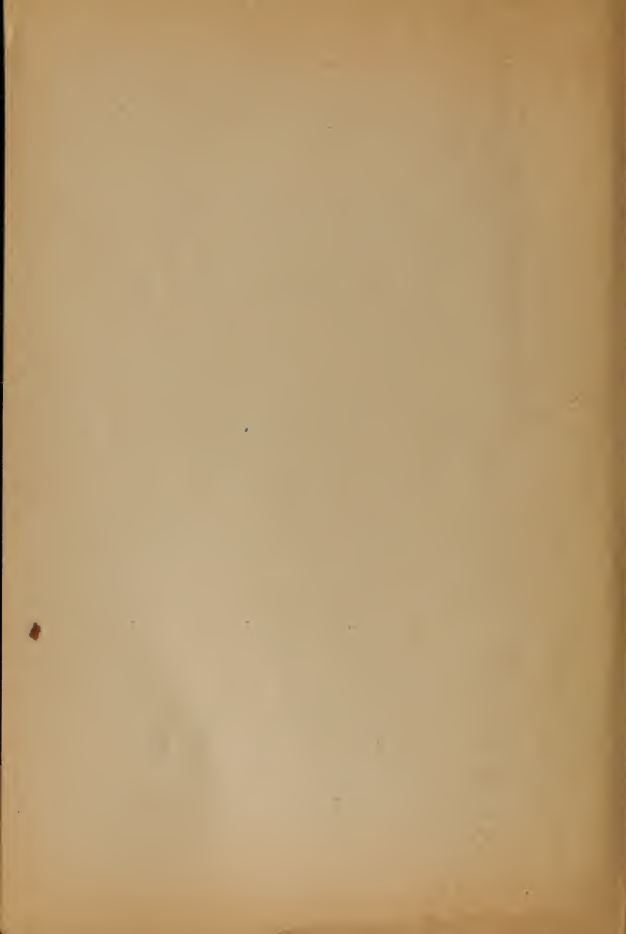
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HISTORY OF ROME

I

THE BEGINNINGS OF ROME

Early Legends.—Up to 200 B. C., Rome had no written history. The official lists of magistrates, with mention of striking events like eclipses, had been destroyed in the sack of Rome by the Gauls in 390; these had been restored, imperfectly, from memory. Out of this material, continued down to 200, and the conflicting deeds of exaggerated daring contained in the funeral orations preserved by the noble families, one Fabius Pictor, soon after 200, wrote the first prose history of Rome. It was built of scraps and imitations of Greek history, and has little historical value.

According to his account, the war-god Mars had two sons by the Vestal Rhea Silvia, daughter of the neighboring king Numitor of Alba. Cast adrift on the Tiber by their grandfather in a trough, the twins grounded at the site of Rome, and were suckled by a she-wolf and fed by a woodpecker. Determining, after reaching manhood, to found a city, one of the twin sons, Romulus, killed his brother Remus in a quarrel, and founded and ruled Rome. His outlaw followers stole wives from the nearby Sabines; at his death, he was translated to heaven by the gods in a thunder storm. Romulus was primarily a conqueror; Numa, his successor, was a lawgiver and a man of peace. Tullus Hostilius and Ancus Martius, third and fourth sovereigns, are fainter echoes of the

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first two legendary kings. The fifth, Tarquin the first, an Etruscan adventurer, was succeeded by Servius Tullius, son of a slave girl. Seventh and last came Tarquin the Proud, whose oppression led to his expulsion and the establishment of the Republic. The last three sovereigns were "tyrants" in the Greek sense, that is, usurpers siding with the common people, who took and held the power by force. The expulsion of the last Tarquin is dated 510, the actual year in which the Athenians drove out the tyrannical sons of Pisistratus. The early Roman historians were not original enough to invent even a date for their imaginary expulsion.

All that these legends contribute historically is a sense of the mixed origin of the Roman people, with Latin and Etruscan elements predominating. Early Rome probably passed through the typical governmental development, so often illustrated in Greek city-states, of (1) rule by kings, (2) rule by nobles, (3) rule by usurping tyrants who sided with the people, and (4) some sort of democracy, in Rome called a Republic. These legends were accepted as truth through the whole Roman period, and, indeed, until about 1800 A. D.; they profoundly swayed men's minds.

The early religion of the Romans was supplanted, before written history commenced, by worship borrowed from the Greeks. Jupiter (*deus pater*, god the father) was identified with Zeus, as chief God; Greek Demeter (*dea mater*, the god mother) with Ceres, an Italian goddess of agriculture; Greek Ares of war

with Mars; Aphrodite with Venus; and so on down the line. With the Greeks, these gods were more poetic and intimate, with the Romans, they became formalized and austere.

Historical Beginnings.—North Italy, when history begins, was inhabited by the Gauls, a Celtic-speaking race of barbarians, and the Etruscans, a civilized race still remaining an unsolved riddle of history. The latter had contacts with Phoenicia, Greece, and Egypt, and were Rome's first teachers. South Italy was "Magna Graecia," a Greek settlement. Mid-Italy held the Italians; to the east the highlanders, Sabines, Samnites, Volscians and others; to the west the thirty or more tribes of Latines. At first the town of Alba Longa was chief among these tribes; but an early settlement, probably on the Palatine hill on the south side of Tiber, called Rome, soon emerged as the chief Latin power. Two more of the seven hills, the Quirinal and the Caelian, were settled at an early date, tradition says by invading Sabines and conquering Etruscans. This is another evidence of the mixed origin of Rome.

At an early date, the low ground between these hills became the place for political assemblies (*Comitium*), and for the common market place (*Forum*); the steep Capitoline hill, a little to one side, became the common citadel. Early rulers drained the marshes and enclosed all seven hills within one wall; the remains of a great drain (*Cloaca Maxima*) and of a massive wall may still be seen. Before 500 B. C., the city-state had begun to grow. Wars against their neighbors had given Rome a third of

Latium, the land of the Latines, and had yielded control of the south bank of the Tiber from the sea to the hills, a distance of thirty-six miles. At Tiber mouth, Ostia, the first Roman colony, had been founded for a port; on the north side of the river, Rome seized Mount Janiculum and fortified it against the Etruscans. Alba Longa was destroyed, and Rome succeeded to the headship of the Latin confederacy.

Religion.—Religion centered about the home and the daily tasks. Each house had its god Janus, two-faced, looking in and out; each hearth fire had its goddess Vesta. When the city grew powerful, it had a city Janus and a city Vesta. In the temple of Vesta, the Vestal Virgins kept the holy fire of the city always burning. Next to the house gods came the agriculture gods, especially Tellus, of the soil; Saturn, of sowing; and Terminus, of boundaries. There was also an early ancestor worship, and each Latin tribe had its especial deity. That of Rome was Mars, god of war; when Rome became head of Latium, Jupiter, chief of the tribal Latin gods, became its chief god. Later writers placed all of this in the framework of the elaborate Greek religion.

There were two classes of priests: the *pontiffs*, in charge of human science, the calendar, the city records, weights, and measures; and the *augurs*, who read the will of the gods through omens, such as the flight of birds, and the entrails of animals. The religion of Rome became a mighty political instrument; no public act could be commenced without divine approval, and the priests drove hard bargains in

the name of the gods. The priesthood remained to the end the servants of the political powers, not the masters.

Social Classes: Patricians and Plebeians.—The descendants of the original “three tribes” (Romans, Etruscans, Sabines) formed “the Roman people,” in a strict sense. They were “patricians,” men “with fathers.” For a long time, they were the only citizens. The many non-citizens—transported clans from conquered cities, adventurers, refugees, traders—were called “plebeians” or the plebs—meaning the masses. Some of them were rich; none of them had any part in the religion, law, or politics of the city. They could not hold office, or intermarry with patrician families. They commenced a struggle toward equality; this struggle makes up the early political history of Rome.

The patrician society was organized into families, clans, and curias. The father was owner and ruler of his family, its priest, judge, and king. He could sell or kill wife, unmarried daughter, grown son, or son’s wife; all that was theirs was his. No appeal lay from him to any higher judge. This was the law; in practice, the customs were milder. The families were grouped into 300 clans; these clans into 30 curias. Patrician government had at first three parts: king, Senate, and Assembly. The Senate was probably originally a council of the 300 chiefs of clans; it kept the number 300 for a long time, although the kings won the power to fill vacancies. The Assembly was a meeting of all the patricians in curias. It

met only at the call of the king; on the death of a ruler, it elected his successor, on the nomination of an inter-rex, or between-times-king. It could not debate; it could only listen to the king's words.

The Struggle Commences.—At first, only the patricians were allowed to fight, and, with it, to vote. But as the plebs increased in number, they were needed in war; and, as they had to fight, they insisted upon the right to vote. A new Assembly, the Assembly of Centuries (a company of 100 fighting men) took over the powers of the old Assembly of Curias. There were in all 193 centuries; almost 20,000 fighting men. By political juggling, the nobles were slightly more than half of the voting centuries; but the plebs had made some gain.

The kings, before history, were replaced by usurping tyrants, who sided with the masses at first, and thereafter became oppressors. They were expelled about 500 B. C., and their place was taken by two *consuls*, or joint kings elected for one year. They could veto each other's acts, but were otherwise all-powerful. In time of national emergency, a single *dictator* became absolute master of Rome, for a term not to exceed six months; nor could he nominate his successor. The overthrow of the kings was an aristocratic, not a democratic, measure. The nobles oppressed the plebeians (1) by denying them the right to hold office, (2) by administering the laws, still unwritten, (3) by enforcing oppressive laws against debt, (4) by taking over the public lands, and (5) by putting the chief burden in wartime on the small farmer.

In 497 B. C., according to Livy, the conflict broke out openly. The plebeian army went on a "general strike," marching three miles away from Rome, and declaring that they would build a Rome of their own. The patricians made some concessions, and the plebeians returned. Various popular leaders arose, and were harshly dealt with by the patricians. Genucius was stabbed by patrician daggers; Spurius Cassius, a reforming patrician, was deserted by his tricked plebeian followers, and put to death; Spurius Maelius, Marcus Manlius, and Appius Claudius received similar treatment. Claudius, in 451, joined the plebeians in their demand for written laws; he was not only killed, but his memory was blackened with patrician inventions, like the baseless story of his injustice to the maid Virginia.

The first secession of the plebs gave them the right to have *tribunes*, defenders of the masses, whose "veto" ("I forbid!") could stop any magistrate. There were at first two, and finally ten tribunes. About 460, the plebs demanded written laws; after a ten-year contest, a board of ten men (the Decemvirs) were elected to write the laws. Their "Laws of Twelve Tables," engraved on stone, were severe, but affected patrician and plebeian alike. The third reform was the establishment of an Assembly of Tribes, to replace the unjust Assembly of Centuries. It was finally granted that the decisions of this Assembly were laws binding upon all Rome. From 445 to 300 the fight for plebeians to hold office continued, and step by step their demands were granted. In 445

the plebs demanded that one consul be a plebeian; the Senate would not permit the high office to be "polluted" by a plebeian. As a compromise, an office known as "consular tribune," open to all, was created, to replace the consuls in certain years. At the same time, the die-hard Senate took away the religious powers of the consuls, and vested them in two *censors*, offices open only to patricians.

The invasion of the Gauls, and sack of Rome, occurring in 390, postponed the final struggle, but in 377, under the tribune Licinius Stolo, the plebeians united finally on a group of demands, chief of which were:

(1) That at least one consul yearly should be plebeian.

(2) That no citizen should hold more than 250 acres of land.

(3) That payment of debts might be postponed three years, and that interest already paid should be deducted from the amount of the debt.

For ten years this fight raged; but in 367 the Senate yielded, and the Licinian proposals became law. The beaten Senate created a new office, the *praetor*, to act as judge—a position open only to patricians. In 356, a plebeian was dictator; in 351, one was censor; in 337, one was chosen praetor. In 300, the sacred colleges and pontiffs and augurs were thrown open to the masses. Since the Senate was appointed from former office-holders, that body too gradually became plebeian. By the year 300, the old distinction between plebeian and patrician had practically died out.

II

THE CONQUEST OF ITALY

First Expansion.—Under her first rulers, Rome had conquered widely; but, after 510 the Latin towns became independent, and the Etruscans to the north began to encroach upon more and more Roman territory. For the next sixty years, Rome fought for her life. Etruscan, Volscian, and Sabine armies often marched tauntingly below her very walls, at the very time when the city was torn apart by the strife of patrician against plebeian. In 493 the Latin league was united to Rome, by treaty, as an equal ally; this gave a bulwark against the Volscians. But the chief danger came from the Etruscans. They were the better armed, the more civilized, and the more numerous; if Rome had had to fight them alone, she could hardly have survived.

Two outside aids determined the conflict. In 474 the Etruscans went to war with the Greeks of Syracuse in Sicily; in this war, the Etruscan fleet was wiped out, and her sea power permanently crippled. An enemy from the north, the barbarous Gauls, swarmed punishingly throughout Etruria, and for a hundred years ravaged the land. Rome slowly fought her way again to the headship of the Latin League; and in 396, after fourteen long wars, she finally destroyed Veii, a dangerous Etruscan town only a few hours' walk away. Here she began the typical Roman policy, so often later

used against rival capitals: she exterminated the population, and laid waste the site of the city.

Six years later, in 390, the city was again threatened with utter destruction. The ravaging Gauls, having laid all Etruria waste, defeated the Roman army in the battle of the Allia, twelve miles from the walls, and cut it off from the city. For three days the barbarians gave themselves over to pillage; this respite saved Rome. The sacred fire was hurriedly removed; the helpless inhabitants fled; and a small garrison, under the soldier Marcus Manlius, garrisoned the citadel on the Capitoline. The Gauls appeared, and sacked the rest of the city; for seven months they held it. But a new ally came to the aid of Rome: the deadly malaria of the Roman plain. This, and the impatience of the barbarians, made them withdraw upon payment of a ransom. Rome was herself again.

United Italy.—Rome stood forth as the champion of Italian civilization against the Gauls. After her own danger was past, she harried the barbarians, until they withdrew to the distant Po valley. The Latin towns had again thrown off her leadership; a short war made Rome mistress again of Latium. The southern half of Etruria was seized, and Roman colonies, to north and south, garrisoned the land against possible uprisings. Campania, south of Latium, was threatened by the hill Samnites, and appealed to Rome for aid; Rome repulsed the mountaineers, and, in return, the Campanian cities became her tributaries.

In 338 B. C., the Latin cities rose for the last time against Rome. After bitter fighting, the rising was crushed, and the league dissolved. Roman statecraft engineered the peace terms, by which certain cities were admitted into the existing tribes as full citizens of Rome, and other cities were bound to Rome as subjects. A separate treaty was made with each, and they were forbidden any intercourse with each other, in politics or trade, except through Rome.

The leadership of central Italy now lay between lowland Rome and upland Samnium, whose warlike tribes were spread widely over the southern Apennines. In 326 the final war broke out; it lasted, with brief truces, to 290. In 321, at the Caudine Forks, the Samnites won an overwhelming victory, trapping a Roman army in a narrow pass between two great cliffs. The Romans saved their lives by abject surrender, and a promise to cease fighting; once free, they evaded their obligations, by customary trickery, and resumed the warfare. Samnium at once built up a great alliance, including everything from the Gauls to South Italy; but Rome, by her policy of "divide and conquer," defeated these enemies one by one, before they could unite, and in 290 was mistress of the whole peninsula, except the Greek cities of the south.

Ten years later began the last great war for territory in Italy. The Greek cities were harassed by neighboring mountaineers, and called in Roman aid. Roman lordship thus became established everywhere but in the great

city of Tarentum. This city, desiring to keep its independence, called in the aid of Pyrrhus, the chivalrous king of Epirus in Greece. This leader, one of the greatest Greek military adventurers after Alexander the Great, marched into Italy with a vast armament and vaster designs. He planned to unite the Greek cities of Magna Graecia and Sicily, and then subdue the strong power of Carthage, the Phoenician colony on the coast of Africa just beyond Sicily. Alexander had united eastern Greece and Asia; Pyrrhus determined to play the Alexander to western Greece and Africa. Of Rome he knew little; the town was at its best, in his mind, a village of barbarians, hardly worth wasting his efforts upon. Then came the call from Tarentum, for help against the Roman barbarians.

So his great Goliath force, with formidable fighting elephants, marched against the Roman David. He won some victories, as the panic-stricken Romans fled before the trumpeting monsters of the jungle. Most of southern Italy joined him; anxious to sweep past Sicily against Carthage, he offered a hasty peace to Rome. Under the leadership of an aged and blinded senator, Appius Claudius, defeated Rome answered haughtily that she would treat with no invader while he stood upon Italian soil. Pyrrhus, annoyed at the delay, hurried off to Sicily, leaving his victory incomplete. The steady Roman advance called him back; and a great Roman victory at Beneventum, in 275 B. C., ruined his dream of empire, and gave Rome control over all of

Italy. In 266, she carried her ensigns north in Cisalpine Gaul to the banks of the Po. Italy was Roman at last.

Organization of Italy.—It had gradually come to pass that the majority of Roman citizens did not live at Rome. Largely because of difference in place of residence, the citizens fall into three classes:

(1) Inhabitants of Rome itself.

(2) Members of Roman *colonies*, planted by Rome from among her own citizens in garri- sons around the central city. In local affairs, a local Assembly controlled; the citizens were also entitled to attend the great Assembly at Rome. Since representative government had not been invented, this did not work with marked success.

(3) Members of Roman *municipia* or conquered towns admitted into the Roman state in full equality. They did not differ from the Roman colonies, except in origin.

The citizens were enrolled in tribes, which had expanded from the original three to twenty-one (450 B. C.) and now to thirty-five—four in the city, the rest in adjoining districts. The rights of Roman citizens were (a) private: the right to acquire property, under Roman protection, in any of Rome's possessions, and the right to intermarry in any Roman or subject community; and (b) public, the right to vote in the Assembly of the Tribes, to hold office, and to appeal to the Assembly if condemned to death or bodily punishment. In

return for these privileges, the citizens furnished half the army of Italy, and paid all the direct taxes.

Below the citizens came the subjects, divided into three main groups.

(4) The Latin colonies were colonies sent out by Rome after 338, far beyond Latium. They were not given Roman citizenship, but merely the full right formerly enjoyed by citizens of the old Latin league. They had the full private rights of Romans; and could obtain the public rights, by removing to Rome and enrolling in one of the tribes. In local affairs, they had full self-government.

(5) The Italian "Allies" included the mass of subject Greeks, Italians, and Etruscans; among themselves, they differed greatly in their rights. Each one was bound to Rome by a separate treaty, and these treaties varied widely. None of the Allies had either the private or the public rights of Romans, and they were isolated jealously from one another. In general, they enjoyed local self-government and Roman protection, and bore few burdens.

(6) Lowest of all were the *prefectures*, three or four towns regarded as offenders for persistent revolts against Rome. These had no self-government at all, and bore all the burdens of Roman citizenship. Their local government was administered by *prefects* sent out from Rome.

There are two chief phases of the Roman genius for rule. (1) Rome wisely and generously *incorporated* her conquests within herself; with this added strength, winning wider

victories. Along with this there went a rule marked by intelligence, justice and firmness, and especially by a marvelous tolerance of local customs and rights. (2) At the same time, Rome strictly *isolated* the subject communities from one another. She encouraged jealousies among these cities, and played off one community against another, wherever possible. Within each city she endeavored to set class against class, in the main favoring the aristocratic parties. In politics and war, the rule of her statesmen was "Divide and conquer."

The Roman roads were a real part of the Roman system of government. In 312 Rome began the system of magnificent roads by building the Appian Way (*Via Appia*) to the new possessions in Campania. Afterwards all Italy, and then the growing empire outside of Italy, was traversed by such roads. Nothing was permitted to obstruct their course; mountains were tunneled, rivers bridged, and marshes spanned for miles by viaducts of masonry. Their chief characteristic was that each led from and to Rome; they united the cities to Rome, not primarily to each other.

Government.—At the head of Rome were five curule officers, entitled to sit in the curule chair—the ivory "throne" of the old kings. In the order of importance these were:

Dictator (one) in emergencies only.

Censors (two).

Consuls (two) commanders in war, and leaders in foreign policy.

Praetors (two) with chief judicial power.

Aediles (two), with oversight over police and public works. There were also two inferior aediles, eight quaestors (in charge of the treasury and with some judicial power) and the ten tribunes. The censor held office for five years, the dictator for six months, the other officials for one year. The new aristocracy was composed of the descendants of holders of the curule offices; the nobles were the members of the Senatorial order. In 312, the landless citizens were enrolled in the tribes; about the same time, the Assembly of Centuries was reorganized, without excessive power to wealth. In 287, the Hortensian law took from the Senate its veto upon a law of the Assembly of Tribes. This was not passed without much conflict, and a threatened secession. Thus, in law, Rome had become a democracy; in practice, the aristocratic Senate still controlled. "Rome," says Ihne, "became a complete aristocracy with democratic forms." As Mommsen puts it, "While the citizens acquired the semblance, the Senate acquired the substance, of power." We shall see later how Octavian and his successors installed the empire, retaining all the outward forms of the republic. It is never difficult for an alert governing class to grant the letter of popular demands, and preserve the spirit of aristocratic oppression. This holds for the future no less than the past, and until the populace grows tall enough to see through solemn shams.

Each magistrate expected, after his brief

term of office, to become for life a Senator. Accordingly, he sided with it against the Assembly. As a last resort, the Senate could count usually upon one or more of the ten tribunes, and could block any action it disliked by his veto. No money was drawn from the treasury without its consent; it declared and managed wars; it received ambassadors and made alliances. For over a hundred years this "assembly of kings" earned Mommsen's description, "the foremost political corporation of all time."

Early Roman Society.—From 367 to about 200 B. C. was the period of greatest Roman vigor. In the main, the Roman citizens were still yeoman farmers, working hard and living plainly, each on his own few acres. In the cities, the craftsmen were organized into guilds; laborers and employers were united here in each craft. There were few citizens of great wealth or of extreme poverty: the great social chasm was yet to develop, and weaken the land to its destruction. The Roman "gentleman" of this period was not a mere owner of farms; he was still himself the farmer.

The Roman ideal was a man of iron will and stern discipline, devoted to Rome, contemptuous of luxury, of suffering, and even of human sympathy, if it conflicted with his duty to the state. His model was still the first consul, Brutus, who in the legend sent his guilty sons to the block unmoved; inspired by this, in the last Latin war a historical con-

sul, Manlius, gloomily executed his gallant son for a glorious act of insubordination. On the one side, the Romans were brave and obedient; on the other, they were coarse, cruel, rapacious, and treacherous. So Rome began, and so she entered upon her conquest of the known world.

III

CONQUEST OF THE WORLD

Rome's Western Rival.—When Rome completed the union of Italy, Alexander the Great had been dead nearly fifty years. Out of the bloody Wars of Succession following his death, the eastern Mediterranean world emerged ruled by three states, Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt, with their numerous satellites. In the western Mediterranean Carthage was the undisputed ruler. Now, between the three powers of the East and the single queen of the West, there arose this new state, Roman Italy, destined to absorb them all.

Phoenicia, next to Israel the most important of the powers developing along the trade "way" or passage between Egypt and Babylon, gave much to the world. She was the first great sea-trading power; the first colonizer on the sea; and the inventor of the alphabet which, through the Greeks and Romans, came down to us. Carthage, dominating the north coast of Africa across from Sicily, was her most important colony. At the time of the chief Persian attack against eastern Greece, the Persian ruler had instigated Carthage to attack the western Greeks in Sicily and Magna Graecia, and prevent their giving aid to Athens and Sparta. Against Pyrrhus of Epirus, Rome and Carthage had been allied, only a short time before; but, as that gallant adventurer saw, they were natural rivals. As

he abandoned the West, he exclaimed longingly, "How fair a battlefield we are leaving for the Romans and Carthaginians!" In less than ten years, the hundred-year conflict began.

The government of Carthage was, in form, a republic, somewhat like Rome; in reality it was a narrow oligarchy or rule of the few, controlled by a few wealthy families. Polybius called her the richest city in the world; and she was now at the height of her power. She was supreme on the sea; her land empire embraced North Africa (including over three hundred cities here), Sardinia, Corsica, half of Sicily, and the coasts of Spain. We know of Carthage today only through Roman tongues: when the proud Punic city was finally utterly destroyed, her history, art, and literature were forever wiped out. And the Roman tongue, we know was a tricky tongue, apt to lie when a lie served better than the truth. With biting irony Rome invented the phrase, "Punic faith," as a synonym for treachery. With more truth Rome's enemies could speak of "Roman faith" as the equivalent of false dealing.

Carthage was, it is true, largely an Oriental civilization; her religion was the bloody and erotic worship of the Phoenician Baal and Astarte. Worse than this, she lacked the Roman genius of incorporating conquered territory. Her army was a motley horde of mercenaries; her empire was held together only by fear of the punishing sword. She kept her nearest and best subjects in virtual slavery.

The First Punic War.—Where rivalry is, an excuse for war is never hard to find. For two hundred years Sicily had been half Carthaginian and half Greek, under the city of Syracuse. A band of Campanian mercenaries, serving Syracuse, calling themselves "Mamer-tines" or Sons of Mars, fell upon the city of Messana, sacked it, murdered the men, stole their wives and goods, and for several years used it as a base to plunder northeast Sicily. In 265 they were hard-pressed by Hiero II, ruler of Syracuse; they called on Rome for aid, while the other party called on Carthage. Both Carthage and Syracuse were allies of Rome; the desire to check Carthage and to extend Roman power, however, overweighed all caution, as well as all moral considerations. The Senate could come to no decision; but the people, to whom it referred the question, voted promptly to send troops to Sicily. In 264, Roman legions for the first time crossed the seas. The war that followed is called the First Punic War—Punic, of course, tracing back to the word Phoenician.

Carthage was mistress of a huge but scattered empire; Rome, of a small but compact nationality. Each state held or ruled about 5,000,000 people. Carthage was strong in her wealth and her navy; she was weak in internal jealousy, and the absence of any loyalty among her subjects. Rome was strong in the patriotism and vigor of her people, in her disciplined legions, and in the fidelity of her allies; she was weak in the total lack of a navy. The war lasted twenty-three years. At

first, Carthage was scornful mistress of the sea: her fleets reinforced the troops in Sicily, and ravaged the seacoasts of Italy unsparingly.

Then Rome built a navy. it is a quaint myth that Rome found a stranded Carthaginian vessel on the sands, built a fleet with it as model, and trained her sailors to row sitting on the sand; but, aided especially by her Greek allies in Magna Graecia, she met Carthage in her own sea-field, and temporarily defeated her. In 256 she invaded Africa; the consul Regulus won brilliantly here, and even besieged Carthage. Winter came on; the short-term Roman soldiers were recalled; the balance were killed or captured; and, according to the legend, Regulus himself was made captive. The story goes on that, five years later, he was sent to Rome with a peace offer, on his pledge to return if it was not accepted. He insisted that it be declined, and returned to his death by torture. Thus every people make their own cherry-tree story.

The Carthaginian hero of the war is more historical. In 247, the general Hamilcar appeared in Sicily; for six years, ensconced with his small force in the hills, he held large Roman armies in check. His eagle-like blows from the heights earned him the name *Barca*, the Lightning. But it was Rome he was fighting. The first four Roman fleets were utterly destroyed; bankrupt at home, private loans fitted out two hundred vessels. This fleet won an overwhelming victory, and ended the war. In 241 Carthage sued for peace, sur-

rendering Sicily and paying a heavy war indemnity.

In the interval before the next war, Carthage faced a bitter revolt of her mercenaries at home. In the turmoil, Sardinia and Corsica broke free, and offered themselves to Rome. The temptation was too much for Roman honor, ever a phrase more than a fact; Rome accepted, blustering a threat of war in answer to Carthaginian protests. The same interval marked Roman encroachment upon the East. She swept the Illyrian pirates from the Adriatic and taught the eastern Greek cities to look to her for protection. North, too, Rome expanded; in the conflict 225-222 which the Gauls commenced, angered at Roman encroachments, Rome took over all of Cisalpine Gaul.

The year 227 marked the beginning of the Roman provincial system. Corsica and Sardinia together, and Sicily, were made into two provinces, ruled by two praetors from Rome. Cisalpine Gaul was the third province thus organized.

The Second Punic War.—The son of Hamilcar Barca, Hannibal, had been pledged by his father to eternal hostility to Rome. He used his leisure to store his mind with all the culture of Greece; at 26, he became supreme in Spain. He was a statesman of a high order, and possibly the greatest military captain in all history. In 218, with a magnificent army of 100,000 men, after organizing Southern Spain thoroughly, he besieged the ancient Greek colony of Saguntum in Spain. This town appealed to Rome; when Carthage refused to

recall Hannibal, Rome, in 218, in alarm and anger, declared war.

Rome in leisurely fashion determined to take the offensive, and sent her consuls, one towards Spain, the other towards Africa through Sicily. But Hannibal, in five months of fighting and mountain-marching, crossed the Pyrenees and the Rhone, forced the unknown passages of the Alps, and, with the bones of three-fourths of his army between the Ebro and the Po, startled Italy by appearing in Cisalpine Gaul, with twenty-six thousand "heroic shadows." O, they could fight, these shadows, with Hannibal at their head. Rome scrambled together two armies, at the Ticinus and at the Trebia; Hannibal fell upon them and annihilated them. A third army was gathered at Lake Trasimene; it went the bloody way of the first two. Hannibal started south, carrying fire and sword throughout Italy.

In the emergency, Quintus Fabius Maximus was named dictator, to save Rome. The wary old general adopted the wise policy of delay (the Fabian policy), to wear out Hannibal and give Rome breathing time. The policy succeeded, but the Roman crowd murmured, and called Fabius the Laggard. By the next summer, the new consuls put an army of 90,000 men in the field. The result was the butchery of Cannae. Hannibal lost 6,000 men; Rome, 60,000 dead and 20,000 prisoners. Hannibal sent home a bushel of gold rings from the hands of dead Roman nobles.

Hannibal's one hope of victory lay in wean-

ing Rome's allies from her. The mountain tribes, Capua, Syracuse, a few Greek cities, joined him; but Italy as a whole stood firm. For three years Rome besieged Syracuse, where Hannibal could not oppose her; the philosopher Archimedes, whose brilliant war inventions aided in the defense, was killed in the final sack of the city. Hannibal's remaining chance lay in his brother Hasdrubal, in Spain. For years the two Scipios held him deadlocked; then, in 211 in a great victory he destroyed them. A third Scipio took the field well.

In Italy, Rome besieged revolting Capua. As a diversion, Hannibal marched his army to the very walls of Rome; but Rome held firm, and razed Capua to the ground. Hasdrubal broke free of the Romans in Spain, and marched across the Alps with 56,000 men and fifteen elephants; at the Metaurus, the Romans, with 150,000 men, fell upon Hasdrubal before he could join his brother, and destroyed him and his army. The first news that Hannibal received of his brother's arrival in Italy was the ghastly head of his brother, flung with brutal contempt into his camp.

Rome now carried the war into Africa; in 202, in her peril, Carthage recalled Hannibal. His first and only defeat was the same year at Zama; this ended the war. Carthage gave up Spain; her war elephants; her navy, except ten ships; a huge indemnity even the right to wage war without Roman consent. Rome now had no western rival. She proceeded to subdue Spain with bloody cruelty.

The Third Punic War.—Carthage, after many years, was called upon to surrender the brave Hannibal; he fled to the East, and took his own life, to escape falling into Roman hands. Then Rome permitted Massinissa, Prince of Numidia, to prey upon Carthage, without allowing retaliation. Roman commissioners reported that Carthage was thriving again; whereupon Cato commenced closing every speech with "Carthago delenda est," (Carthage must be destroyed). Forced to act against Massinissa, Carthage took up arms. Rome declared war, and proceeded to an act of masterful treachery.

Terrified Carthage punished her leaders, and offered abject submission. First, at the Roman demand, 300 boys from the noblest Carthaginian families were sent into the Roman camp, as hostages. Then, on Roman command, Carthage dismantled its walls and stripped its arsenals, sending, in long lines of wagons, to the Roman army 3,000 catapults and 200,000 stand of arms, with vast military supplies. Next all the shipping was surrendered. Finally came the announcement from Rome that the city must be destroyed and the people moved to some spot ten miles inland from the sea.

Carthage blazed up at once into hopeless, despairing courage. Women gave their hair to make cords for new catapults; the temple fittings were pounded into emergency arms. For four years, heroic Carthage faced the enormous resources of warlike Rome, and held her off. At last the legions forced the walls. The commander at the last moment made peace

with the Roman general; his disdainful wife, taunting him from the burning temple roof as he knelt at Scipio's feet, slew their two boys, and cast herself with them into the ruins.

The city was pillaged, burned to the ground, and its site was plowed up, sown with salt, and cursed (146 B. C.).

Rome could now give more attention to its eastern campaigns, which had started as early as 214. In three wars she defeated Macedonia; the great Antiochus of Syria was faced and conquered. By 190, virtual protectorates were set up over all of the realms of the successors of Alexander. About 146, these protectorates were gradually replaced by provinces. The same period marked a change in Roman character. The nobles now sought war for the sake of glory and power; they were urged on by the growing class of merchants and money lenders, who now indirectly dominated the government. In 146, the Greek Achaean League fell before Roman arms, and the great city of Corinth was burned and its site cursed, while its people were murdered or sold as slaves. In 133, the king of Pergamum willed his domain to Rome, and it became the Province of Asia. In 246, Rome was one of five world powers; in 146, she was the sole great power in the Graeco-Roman world.

IV

A CENTURY OF REVOLUTION

Evils in Rome.—Rome knew how to conquer, and how to rule Italy; she developed no satisfactory way to rule the world. Gross misgovernment abroad corrupted the citizens and lowered the moral tone at home, until the Republic was no longer fit to rule even Italy or the city of Rome. From this came a three-fold conflict: in Rome, between the rich and the poor; in Italy, between Rome and the "Allies"; in the empire at large, between Italy and the provinces.

Rome had begun to decline in morals and in industries before the end of the Second Punic War. Even a glorious war tends to demoralize society. It corrupts morals and creates the social chasm between wealth and extreme poverty. The utter poor have no manhood or patriotism; they have nothing in life to fight for. The extreme rich are accustomed to having everything done for them by others; but, in time of national danger, they cannot buy patriotism or nobility or self-sacrifice by their ill-gotten wealth. Thus the land which avoids the relatively even distribution of wealth, and permits instead great wealth and great poverty, cannot face a foreign foe whose wealth is more wisely distributed among its citizens.

In the Second Punic War, Rome lost 1,000,000 lives—a hemorrhage that made the race permanently poorer. Hannibal's ravages de-

stroyed the small Italian farmer—a deadlier blow to Rome than its noble enemy guessed. Graft came in, in war contracts. The farmers were poor, or gone; the city masses had become a starving propertiless rabble; and a new aristocracy of wealth held all the power. Rome became the money center of the world; the taxation of provinces was “farmed” or sold in Rome to the highest bidder, who paid the Senate so much cash, and could then extort from the helpless provincials all that he dared. Trade monopolies or trusts developed—a necessary step toward socialization of industry, but a costly and enervating practice, if continued too long. Luxury came in, luxury coarse and brutal, as the Roman character demanded.

How were the populace, starving, propertiless, to be kept quiet? By amusements—the bloody gladiatorial games, in which men and beasts fought to death for the amusement of the spectators. This practice in the enjoyment of death came in handy, when mobs attacked certain emperors years later. The Italian farms were bought up cheaply by the new millionaires; when the poor would not sell, their land was taken by force or fraud. Italy, as a land of substantial citizens, was impossible, because of:

1. Cheap grain from the provinces.
2. Industry developed toward large holdings and slave labor.
3. Growth of large fortunes eager for land investment.
4. Growth of a cheap slave supply.

As a result the Assembly became fickle and worthless, and the Senate impotent and degraded.

Italy and the Provinces.—Rome began openly to treat her Allies as subjects; there was occasional insolence or brutality of Roman official against native. The tax farming of the provinces gave rise to constant complaint; and the governors were, by virtue of the system, tyrants with hardly a check to their rapacity and cruelty. Typical examples were the stripping and scourging of a city mayor, because the peevish wife of a Roman magistrate thought that the city baths were not vacated quickly enough for her; the whipping to death of a free herdsman, for a light jest at a Roman idler, who leaned back in his litter and smiled at the spectacle; the beheading of a noble Gaul by the governor to satisfy the complaint of a worthless favorite that he missed the gladiatorial shows of Rome. After his term expired, a governor could be tried; but only at Rome, before the Senators, who were parties to the ills.

Worst of all was the growth of the plague-spot of slavery. Many of the slaves were from Greece and the East—men far more cultured than their coarse masters. The noble Cato phrased the Roman ideal: "The slave should be always either working or sleeping." In 135, came the first of many slave wars; 70,000 insurgent slaves held Sicily for four years, defeating Roman army after army. In 105 occurred a more formidable Sicilian slave war, lasting five years. In 73, Spartacus led a re-

volt of the gladiators in Italy; for three years his 70,000 outlaws menaced Italy, and even Rome itself.

The Gracchi.—It was inevitable that such evils should breed revolutions. For revolutions feed on injustice, and only wilt on a fare of justice and kindness. Tiberius Gracchus was a brilliant young Roman noble around Scipio. Acquiring the tribuneship in 133, he proposed:

1. A surrender of all state land over 300 acres.

2. Recreation of a yeomanry, by grants of 18-acre plots, to be held without right to sell.

3. A permanent land board of three.

The Senate played an old trick, and had another tribune veto the law; Gracchus violated the law, and had the tribune dragged down and deposed. Out of the conflict, with the farmers tricked back to their farms and the worthless city rabble undecided, the more reckless Senators and their friends murdered Gracchus.

Nine years later, his younger brother, Caius Gracchus, took up the work. His reforms were both economic and political. They embraced:

1. A corn law, providing for sale of grain to the poor at half price.

2. Roman colonies to be founded in Italy and beyond it.

3. Withdrawal of power from the Senate into his own hands.

4. Attempt to extend citizenship to Italians.

The Senate used a new trick, having their tribune Drusus promise greater and wilder benefits to the mob. This weaned supporters

from Gracchus, who was killed in a bloody civil battle. Three thousand of his supporters were strangled in prison.

Marius and Sulla.—In Africa, Jugurtha, a nephew of that Massinissa who had plagued Carthage with Roman consent, ascended the throne by wholesale assassination, and held it by wholesale bribery of Roman commissioners, a consul, and the Senate itself. Marius, a rude Volscian laborer, and his aristocratic lieutenant Sulla, were appointed by the infuriated people to carry on the war. Jugurtha was conquered, dragged through the streets at the wheels of the chariot of Marius, and cast into an underground dungeon to starve. Verily, Rome was a gentle mistress to the world!

Meanwhile, a storm broke upon the northern frontier. In 113 the Cimbri and Teutones, two Germanic peoples, migrating slowly with families, flocks, and goods, in search of new homes in the fertile south, had reached the passes of the Alps. They crowded into Gaul, defeated and slew a Roman consul, vanquished four more Roman armies in bloody battles, and threatened Italy itself. At the same time, the 2nd Slave War, already mentioned, commenced in Sicily. The Germans gave Marius the needed time, by turning aside for two years into Spain. In the summer of 102, at Aix (*Aquae Sextiae*) in southern Gaul, he annihilated the 200,000 warriors of the Teutones, with their women and children; and the next summer he treated the Cimbri, who had reached the Po, in like manner. Italy

was saved from the Teutonic invaders for five hundred years.

Five successive years, in defiance of the Constitution, Marius had been elected consul. Civil war broke out on the streets of Rome, and Marius stood impotently by while his radical friends were slaughtered. Then he retired for a few years of obscurity, while aristocratic Sulla stepped into the limelight. Drusus, a tribune, son of the opponent of the Gracchi, proposed to give citizenship to the Italians; when it was refused, and the tribune assassinated, the Italians rose in arms and set up a republic of their own. The Social War, or war with the Allies (*Socii*) (91-88 B. C.) was as dangerous a struggle as Rome had ever faced. Rome divided her opponents, and in Sulla found a general shrewder than Marius. The Allies were crushed, but their cause was victorious: Rome took into citizenship all Italy south of the Po, raising the number of citizens from 400,000 to 900,000.

Mithridates the Great, king of Pontus, threatened Rome in the East; and the command was taken from Sulla and given to Marius. Sulla marched from Capua at the head of his legions, and laid waste the capital—the first time a Roman magistrate had done this. Sulla marched east; the democrats, under the grim old killer Marius, marched back, and for four days and nights the senatorial party were hunted down and butchered by the desperadoes of Marius. In the East, the nations had rallied to the cause of Mithridates, against oppressive Rome. In a few

brilliant campaigns, Sulla defeated the enemy, and marched back in 83 to restore the nobles to power. Italy was almost solid for the democrats; but for two dreary years Sulla's army fought against the home opponents. The Samnites rose under another Pontius, and almost burned Rome; but Sulla, at the Colline Gate, won a desperate night-victory.

Sulla was now undisputed ruler of Rome; the Senate at his suggestion, declared him permanent dictator, in 81. His first act was, by ruthless and systematic butchery, to crush the democratic party. Lists of names were published daily, and any desperado was invited to slay the proscribed man at two thousand dollars a head. 4,700 Romans of wealth and position perished; throughout Italy, worse massacres occurred, including 12,000 in one day at Praeneste. The Senate was then increased to 600 men, and the tribuneship weakened; in various ways popular government was sapped and weakened.

After a three years' absolutism, Sulla abdicated. He went back to his debaucheries, and died in peace soon afterwards as a private citizen. He is one of the monstrous enigmas of history—brave, shrewd, treacherous, dissolute, licentious, refined, absolutely unfeeling and selfish. He was fond of his title "Sulla the Fortunate." No other civilized man has ever so systematized murder. Having had his fill of blood, he stepped smilingly aside.

V

JULIUS CAESAR

Pompey.—At the death of Sulla, his two chief officers were Pompey and Crassus. Both belonged to the aristocratic party: Crassus the wealthiest man in Rome, due to shrewd purchases during the Sullan proscriptions; Pompey, honest, good-natured, a mediocre timid man in the saddle when only the highest abilities could suffice. The last stronghold of the democrats was Spain, where the brave Roman Sertorius controlled. Pompey, in violation of the law, had himself elected pro-consul for Spain, with an indefinite term and absolute powers (77 B. C.). After some years of fighting, Sertorius was basely assassinated, and Spain was reduced by 71 to obedience. Crassus had just put down the uprising of Spartacus; Pompey arrived in time to kill a few of the survivors, and to claim a large part of the credit.

Here were two victorious generals in Italy, each at the head of his army. The foolish Senate, fearing both, refused them the honor of a triumph. They joined at once into a compact of mutual defense and aggression, and, with their armies at the city gates, had themselves elected consuls, and the triumphs granted. Pompey now could have had the throne, if he had reached out for it; but he was too timid, and the opportunity passed.

In 67, military danger gave him another

opportunity. The Roman navy had decayed, and pirates swarmed the seas, especially powerful in their pirate kingdom of Cilicia. They ravaged the coast of Italy, carried off the inhabitants as slaves, and threatened Rome with starvation by cutting off the grain fleets. To end this evil, Pompey was given supreme power in the Mediterranean for three years, including the coasts for fifty miles inland. Assembling vast fleets, in three months he swept the seas. His power was then extended indefinitely, to let him proceed against Mithridates of Pontus, who was again threatening Roman power in Asia Minor. For five glorious years he waged wars, crushed rebellions, conquered Pontus and Armenia, and carried the Roman standards to the Euphrates. In 62 he returned to Italy, the leading figure in the world.

In his triumph, 324 princes walked captive behind his chariot; banners proclaimed that he had defeated 21 kings and 12,000,000 people, and doubled the revenues of Rome. Again the crown was within his grasp; and again, timidly, he let the chance slip. The interim Roman leaders were learned Cicero, ignorant Cato, and a young democrat named Caius Julius Caesar.

The First Triumvirate.—Julius Caesar, “perhaps the greatest genius of all history” (West) or an “elderly sensualist or sentimentalist” (Wells), had been a dissolute and extravagant young man, who systematically seduced the wives and daughters of his friends and enemies in Rome. He was a member of

the discreditable conspiracy of Catiline, to murder the consuls and senators, confiscate the property of the rich, and make himself tyrant; at its detection by Cicero, he was glad to retire unostentatiously to Spain. Circumstances threw Pompey into his arms, when the Senate foolishly refused to give Pompey's soldiers the land he had promised them for pay, and even to ratify his wise political arrangements in the East. Caesar, Crassus, and Pompey joined together, at Caesar's prompting, into the extra-legal governing body called the "First Triumvirate": Pompey furnished the military reputation, Crassus the funds, and Caesar the brains. Out of it Caesar received the fruits. Caesar, elected consul, rode roughshod over Senate, tribunes, and constitution, and had Pompey's measures enacted into law. He had stepped into the first place in Rome.

At the close of his year as consul, Caesar secured the proconsulship in Gaul for five years. For twice that period he abandoned Italy. He found Rome threatened with two great invasions, those of the Helvetii and the German leader Ariovistus. Both were crushed; and, in masterly campaigns that made invincible veterans of his fanatically devoted soldiers, he extended the Roman boundary to the Rhine, and twice made punitive expeditions into Britain. Hitherto Rome had had only a Mediterranean outlook; now for the first time her view included the North Sea and the shores of the Atlantic.

Meanwhile, Pompey had been allotted Spain, which he ruled illegally from Rome; and

Crassus had received the East. Here he perished in battle with the Parthians, a huge barbaric empire stretching from the Euphrates to the Indus. It was Pompey or Caesar now; and the Senate of course stood for the aristocratic Pompey. He was made sole consul, with a continuation of his indefinite proconsular powers abroad. Caesar still desired peace, so long as he retained the power; his every offer of conciliation was refused. Having the power, he did not intend to lay it down: he had no desire, at least at this time, to wear a martyr's red halo. And so he violated the law, and crossed the river Rubicon with one legion. Civil war was on.

Civil War.—Roman history since the Gracchi had tended steadily toward a monarchy. In various emergencies, conditions in the capital had made a tribune virtually a king (as with Caius Gracchus and Sulpicius); on the frontiers, similar powers had been extended locally to Marius, Sulla, Pompey, Caesar. All that was needed was to unite this power at home and abroad into one man. For all Caesar's human failings, he at least saw that his road to power was parallel with, and not counter to, the desires of the provincials. He would be greater in the greatest Rome; and so he steered toward improving the conditions of the whole empire. He had already admitted the Cisalpine Gauls to citizenship, on his own proconsular authority. Caesar had spent his plunder, not in adorning Rome, but in beautifying the great provincial capitals. The subject peoples looked to him as their hope against

the Senate; the majority probably leaned toward monarchy, as an improvement on anarchy and oligarchic misrule.

He crossed the Rubicon with one legion; there were ten more, invincibly powerful, far at his back. Pompey saw that his hurried Italian levies could not cope with these world conquerors; he and the Senate fled Rome and Italy, crossing to the coast of Epirus, near Durazzo. In sixty days, all Italy was Caesar's; turning to Spain, in three months he made it his. He slipped his forces across the Adriatic in two divisions, in spite of Pompey's fleet; in an attempt to blockade Pompey's army he was badly defeated, but retreated safely into Thessaly. Pompey followed, and near Pharsalus was drawn into a battle, which resulted in a complete rout for his side. (48 B. C.) He fled to Egypt, where he was murdered on landing by a Roman officer.

Caesar, following him to Alexandria, was appealed to by the young queen Cleopatra, who had been banished from the throne by her younger brother, the joint ruler with her. This attractive young hoyden had herself smuggled into the imperial presence wrapped in a rug; and, after the first night spent in the company of Caesar, he was hers completely. He was fifty-four, a disillusioned roue in his affairs with women; she was about twenty. The seduction hardly came from her. Her reputation so far had been good; and she was a faithful mistress-wife to Caesar and later to Antony, rather than a typical Roman matron of the time, or an Oriental temptress.

For a time Caesar was besieged in the palace at Alexandria; a force from Pergamum relieved him. Soon he marched to Asia Minor, and crushed a rebellion there; he broke the Pompeian forces a second time at Thapsus near Carthage in Africa; his final victory was at Munda, in Spain. He returned to Rome, absolute master of the Roman world, in 45. The Senate granted him the power of dictator for life: this meant the same thing as monarchy. He saw to it that the attractive Cleopatra came over from Egypt to live with him in Rome, although he was by no means faithful to her during these campaigns.

Caesar's Reforms.—Caesar's policy was reconciliation: there had been enough blood-letting. The old Republican forms were continued in Rome; the Senate talked, the consuls and praetors were elected as usual. But Caesar gradually drew all important powers into his own hands. He held a grant of the tribunician power for life, was censor for life, was head of the state religion as Pontifex Maximus, dictator for life, and Imperator for life and for his descendants. Imperator meant merely "supreme commander"; this was power to satisfy any man.

Political and economic reforms followed with dazzling rapidity. A wise bankrupt law went far toward re-establishing the crushed debtor class. A commission, like that demanded by the Gracchi, was put in charge of the allotment of public lands. Slavery was discouraged, in favor of free labor. Italian colonization in the provinces was pressed vigorously.

The destroyed capitals, Capua, Carthage, Corinth, were rebuilt to wealth and power. 80,000 landless Roman citizens were provided for beyond the seas; the helpless poor in the capital were reduced from 320,000 to 150,000. Taxation was equalized and reduced. A comprehensive census, a codification of all the laws, a revised coinage and calendar, a rebuilt Forum, a great public library,—these were only a few of his reforms. The system of provincial government was made over completely: and Caesar's plans included making the provincial the equal of the Italian and the Roman. Tall, fair-haired Gallic barbarians, who had just laid aside their breeches for the Senatorial toga, and who mumbled an uncouth jargon, sat on the benches of the Senate with the doddering Italian aristocrats. Rome was becoming a unified Roman world.

The Interruption.—Caesar's health was failing, however; his sense of proportion was failing too. He began to regard himself as a god on earth; and at his elbow Cleopatra whispered her dream of a kingdom, of the world, with herself as its queen. Enemies at home used the opportunity; the sardonic Cassius, the weak enthusiast Brutus, were two among many leaders who surrounded the imperator at the Senatehouse, on the Ides of March (March 15) 44 B. C., and stabbed him to death.

It is hard to judge, at this distance, how great a man was killed. The accident of history favored him immeasurably. His opponents soon gave way to rulers of his line, who went as far as they could in enshrining his

virtues and sponging out the recollection of his faults. The same force at work poisoned mankind's picture of Carthage for years. If Antony and Octavian had lost, the picture of Caesar drawn by the followers of Cassius and Brutus might have been that of another Sulla, or even a Nero or Caligula. He was great in war, of that there is no doubt. He was an assiduous and successful lover, a trait often linked with greatness—although its presence does not prove general greatness. He had qualities of a balanced statesmanship of no mean order. He could strike when he must, but in the hour of victory he was strong enough to be merciful. He was brutal at times, a man of violent impulses and disorderliness, and grew aristocratic enough to hold that he was one of the few gods on earth at the time. His statue was set up in a temple with an inscription, "To the Unconquerable God"; priests even were appointed for his godhead. These things point to megalomania, as the ones first mentioned point to majesty and merit. Probably he had an inordinate share of both.

VI

THE EMPERORS

From Julius to Augustus.—It took fourteen dreary years of civil war to restore peace in Rome; and the final fruit of the bloody revolutionists was not a restored Republic, but a rooted empire. They had expected to be greeted as liberators; due to the hot eloquence of Caesar's friend Marcus Antonius (Mark Antony), on the occasion of Caesar's funeral, the enraged populace drove them out of the city. In the East, where several of them held governorships, and where Pompey's fame was still strength to the aristocrats, they gathered their forces. In the West, control fell to two men, Antony and Octavius, the latter a sickly grandnephew and adopted son of Julius Caesar. Each party despised, and thought to use, "the boy"; he soon proved himself the coldest and shrewdest statesman in the empire. His brain united his power to that of Antony, joining as a third member of a legalized triumvirate Lepidus, the obtuse governor of Gaul and Spain.

Their union was cemented with blood. The proscriptive policy of Sulla was restored; the three killers, met in council, smilingly surrendered to each other the lives of their friends and relatives, wherever there was the slightest feeling of jealousy or dislike. White-haired Cicero was marked for death by Antony; more than 3,000 victims, all men of high position, were slain, and opposition in Italy was thor-

oughly crushed. Meanwhile, Brutus and Cassius had rallied the old Pompeian forces in the East; Parthia, Armenia, Media, Pactus, Thrace gave them troops. Octavius and Anthony marched against them; East and West met again, and again West won at Philippi in Macedonia (42 B. C.). The "Republicans" never appeared again in arms.

Antony and Octavius set aside Lepidus, and shared the Roman world between them. Perhaps the fairest possession of Caesar, Cleopatra, fell to Antony's share; she, perhaps partly for the sake of her son Caesarion by the great Roman, perhaps through personal ambition, linked her lot with Antony's for an intermittent and tempestuous love affair. Antony gave her rich provinces, and it was rumored that he planned to supplant Rome by Alexandria as capital of the empire. The breach widened; at Actium, off the coast of Greece, the rivals met in a great naval battle; the flight of Cleopatra in the midst of the fighting aided in the destruction of Antony's fleet. Back in Egypt, in a feverish dejection he killed himself; and Cleopatra, after a final attempt to gain the love of the cold, sickly, young Octavius, put the asp to her breast, and died as a queen should.

Octavius Augustus, Emperor.—The victory at Actium, in 31, made Octavius sole master of the Roman world. After restoring order in the East, he returned to conciliate the distracted elements of Rome; by prudent and generous measures, he soon brought back prosperity to Italy. In 27 he laid down his office of triumvir (which had become a sole dictatorship), and de-

clared the Republic restored. This act meant that he was absolute master, and that the Empire was safely established.

To be sure, Octavius himself wrote: "After that time I excelled all others in dignity, but of power I held no more than those who were my colleagues in any magistracy." Indeed, Republican forms were followed strictly. The Senate deliberated; the Assembly met to elect consuls and other officers. But, even in form, the Senate at once gave back to Octavius his most important authority in various ways, and, in reality, supreme authority lay in his hands as Imperator—master of the fifty or more legions. He was a Caesar; for a hundred years the soldiers would serve no other. To the title Imperator the Senate added that of Augustus, hitherto reserved for the gods; by this name he is known in history.

Augustus spent the remaining forty years of his acidy life in unremitting toil to strengthen the northern frontiers. He reorganized the administration of the capital; a police department, a fire department, a grain-distribution department, were created, and the work of founding colonies outside Italy was renewed. In literature, the "Augustan age" is synonymous with "golden age." Of Rome he said, "I found it brick, and left it marble."

The First Two Centuries.—At his death, the Senate decreed him divine honors. This was in 14 A. D., his stepson Tiberius, adopted as his heir, succeeded him. The new ruler was stern, morose, suspicious, and able. He pun-

ished severely a conspiracy of Roman nobles; he alienated the populace by stopping the gladiatorial games and lessening the free grain. At his death in 37, his grandnephew Caligula, a promising youth, took over the power. Crazy by power or some illness, he became a capricious madman, with gleams of ferocious humor. "Would that the Romans had all one neck!" he exclaimed, wishing to behead all at one stroke. He proposed to the senate to bestow the consulship upon his horse. After four years, he was slain by officers of his guard, amid general rejoicing.

Claudius, his uncle, who ruled from 41 to 54, was timid and gentle, and sought to evade the supreme power. He was drafted into service; and his rule, through two of his freedmen, was drenched with graft. However, he extended the citizenship to provincials, and enacted legislation protecting slaves. He was poisoned, and his stepson Nero ascended the throne at 16. During the fourteen years of his reign he put to death his mother, the philosopher Seneca who had tutored him, his half-brother, and many wealth nobles. Like Caligula, he entered the lists as gladiator; and he is blamed for the fire which destroyed Rome during his reign. The new sect of Christians were accused of this arson, and the first persecution of the Christians followed. Victims, tarred with pitch, were burned as torches in the imperial gardens, to light the indecent revelry of the court at night; others, clothed in the skins of animals, were torn to pieces by dogs to amuse the mob. He committed incest,

and publicly married a man. Terrified by a popular rising, he had one of his slaves pierce him with a sword.

The year 69, that followed, was one of wild confusion. There were no more Caesars. The Spanish legions elevated their general Galba to the throne; he was ousted by Otho, leader of the emperor's guard; he, in turn, by Vitellius, commander of the Rhine legions. Out of the turmoil the seasoned warrior Vespasian, from Syria, emerged as emperor. Son of a Sabine laborer, he was in every sense a man. During this reign occurred the siege and destruction of Jerusalem, the emperor's son, Titus, in 70 A. D., commanding the attack. At his father's death, Titus ruled for two years, beloved by all the Empire. The eruption of Vesuvius that buried Herculaneum and Pompeii occurred during this period. Domitian, brother of Titus, was third and last of the Flavian emperors, as Vespasian and his sons were called. His general Agricola completed the conquest of Britain clear to Scotland. After a second persecution of the Christians, he was assassinated by members of his household.

The "Antonine Caesars," or "Good Emperors," who followed were largely provincial. Nerva, a Spanish Senator; Trajan, another Spaniard, under whose rule the Empire reached its greatest extent; Hadrian, a third Spaniard, who built the great Roman wall in Britain and built useful public works throughout the empire; Antoninus Pius, and his nephew Marcus Aurelius, gave Rome almost a hundred years of admirable rule. Commodus, son of the philosopher Marcus

Aurelius, was another Caligula and Nero combined. He was poisoned and strangled by the order of one of his mistresses.

During this time, flurries of misgovernment in the imperial city hardly shook the comfort of the provinces, whose governments functioned admirably. The world became Roman; schools, universities, architecture, were everywhere established.

The Decline.—The next hundred years, 193-284, the period of the "Barrack Emperors," saw the imperial throne the spoil of revolt and even of auction sale. Among the better rulers were Septimius Severus of North Africa (193-211) and Alexander Severus of Syria (222-235). After the latter, a procession of phantom emperors appeared and disappeared, until Claudius II, a great general, was elevated and ruled wisely, to be succeeded by Aurelian, an Illyrian peasant (270-275), an even more gifted ruler.

The third century was marked by a renewal of the barbarian attacks. During the peaceful reign of Marcus Aurelius, the floods of foreign unrest began to rise again against the imperial bulwarks of civilization. The Moors were on the move in Africa; the Parthians, whom Trajan had humbled, again menaced the Euphrates; Tartars, Slavs, Finns, and Germans burst upon the Danube. Aurelius beat off the attacks; but, from this time, Rome was on the defensive. Early in the third century, the Persians under the Sassanidae kings replaced the Parthians as the Eastern menace. In 250 and 260 their armies poured across the Euphrates, imprisoned the Emperor Valerian, captured

Antioch. New German tribes appeared—the Alemani crossed the Rhine; bands of Franks swept over Gaul and Spain; Goths seized Dacia, and raided the Balkan provinces. The crumbling had begun.

VII

THE BARBARIANS

Imperial Reorganization.— We have seen Rome grow from its tiny village seed to the mightiest empire of the ancient world. The little settlement at a ford across Tiber between the land of the Latines and Etruria grew strong, took Latium, conquered weakened Etruria, and at length held all Italy. Carthage was its great Western rival; in three great wars, this power was blotted out. Meanwhile, the weakened Eastern states, Macedonia, Syria, Egypt, with their tributaries, came one by one under Roman control. Under Pompey, Caesar, and the early emperors, the Empire stretched from the Euphrates to the Atlantic, from Scotland and the Rhine to the African desert. Now the mighty power, weakened and rotted at the heart, is to become the prey of great stupid barbarians out of the blonde North.

Two flaws were becoming more and more apparent in the imperial constitution: the primitive nature of the machinery of government, and the uncertainty concerning succession to the throne. Diocletian (284-305), a stern Illyrian soldier, grandson of a slave, was the last of the barrack emperors, and made them impossible thereafter. He introduced the idea of "partnership emperors," in which two Augusti ruled jointly over Rome, each with a Caesar, or chosen heir. The empire was divided into four great prefectures, each under the immediate supervision of one of the four

rulers. This did not divide the empire, but it provided for the succession, and improved the machinery. The Republican cloak of Augustus and his successors was laid aside in favor of the direct forms of monarchy. The emperor assumed no simple costume, as Augustus had worn, but a diadem of jewels, and robes of silk and gold. He dazzled the multitude by the magnificence of his court; when subjects approached, they were required to prostrate themselves slavishly at his feet. A strong man does not need such externalia of worship; a weakling requires them, lest he be taken for the zany he is.

Out of the turmoil over the succession, Constantine the Great, 312-337 took the power. He made himself sole master, and definitely accepted Christianity as the religion of the Empire, thereby imperializing Christianity, rather than Christianizing the empire. Barring the brief apostacy of the noble Julian, a cousin of Constantine, the empire remained Christian thereafter. To symbolize the altered status of the empire, Constantine removed the capital to the old town of Byzantium, giving it a new name, Constantinople, and rebuilding it in great magnificence. Early in its control, Christianity retaliated for its prior persecutions by stamping out bloodily all other worship in the empire.

The Teutons Come.—For a long time, the Teutons had been seeping into the empire, by peaceful infiltration, replacing the Romans who had disappeared gradually by a decrease in the birthrate, and by constant warfare. These

Teutons were in the barbarous stage of culture, about at the level of the average North American Indians in 1492. Their character mingled heroism and gloom.

In 376, the West Goths (Visigoths) surged suddenly across the Danube, fleeing the terrible Huns in their rear. Out of plot and counter-plot, they marched on Constantinople, defeating and slaying the emperor Valens at Adrianople. On the death of the emperor Theodosius in 395, the Goths rose under their chief Alaric, overspread Greece, and in 410 sacked Rome. This was exactly 800 years since the Gauls had come down, in 390 B. C., and sacked the then young Italian city. Alaric's hosts then marched on to Spain, and set up a permanent Gothic state there. This lasted three hundred years, to the Mahometan conquest; centuries later, its fragments were welded into the Spain of modern times.

For forty years after the Visigoths departed, Italy had peace; meanwhile, the rest of the West was lost. Even before the sack of Rome, the Rhine frontier gave way. Clouds of Germans had long been massing across the river; in 406, with some of the Roman legions withdrawn to oppose Alaric, the barbarians forced a passage. With little opposition, they spread over Gaul and Spain. In the vanguard came the Burgundians and the Vandals. The Burgundians settled and gave their name to a region in southeastern Gaul; under their King Gundobald, they produced the earliest written code of Teutonic law. The Vandals settled first in Spain; in 414, they were attacked there

by the Visigoths. For thirteen years they fought off the attack; but, in 427, they withdrew into Africa, and after ten more years of fighting, set up a new Teutonic kingdom with its capital at Carthage.

The Vandals were the most untamable of all the Teutons; their name, in "vandalism," has grown to be a synonym for wanton destructiveness. They became pirates, and terrorized the Mediterranean; in 455, under Geiseric, they invaded Italy and sacked Rome in a way that made Alaric's capture seem an act of mercy. For fourteen days they ravaged the Tiber city, sending fleets back to Africa loaded with spoils. Carthage was at last revenged.

The Franks, who had long had homes on both sides of the lower Rhine, alone of the Teutons spread by expansion outward from their old home, instead of wholesale migration. In 408, the Roman legions were recalled from Britain to defend Rome against Alaric and the civilized peace-lovers of Britain were left helpless before the untamed Celts beyond the northern wall, and the fierce marauding Saxons from across the channel. In their dilemma, they called in the Teutons to defend against the northern foe; soon these dangerous protectors began to seize the land for themselves. Chief among the invaders were the Jutes (from Jutland, the Danish peninsula), and the Saxons and Angles (English) from the base of the peninsula. At length there were seven Teutonic states in England: Kent, the Jute kingdom; Sussex, Essex, and Wessex

(South Saxony, East Saxony, and West Saxony); and the English kingdoms of East Anglia, Northumbria, and Mercia. This was a slow conquest; it took from 449 to 600 for the Teutons to overcome the eastern half of the island.

The Wanderings of the Peoples.—There were non-Germanic barbarians also on the march. In addition to the Celts (Gauls and Britons), in the southeast, beyond the Danube, there appeared the Slavs. Behind Germans and Slavs, before 400, there appeared a confused mass of more savage peoples, Huns, Tartars, Finns, Avars, pressing into Europe from the steppes of Asia. These are called collectively Turanians; they were of a different stock from the other European invaders, perhaps akin to the ancient Scythians.

Upon decayed Rome and busy Teutons the new power of the Huns, under terrible Attila, "the scourge of God," burst like an overflowing dam of troubled waters. Attila's power reached from mid-Asia into mid-Europe. It was his wild boast that grass never grew again where his horses' hooves had trod. In the middle of the fifth century, his terrible hordes rolled resistlessly into Gaul.

The demoralized people of the West laid aside their squabbles, and united to meet the threat. Theodoric, hero-king of the Visigoths, brought up his host from Spain to smite under the Roman banner. Burgundian and Frank rallied from the far corners of Gaul. Aetius, "the last of the Romans," marshalled all these, the last great Roman army of the West, with

his back against the sunset. Against him the horrid swarms of Huns, reinforced by Tartars, Slavs, Finns, and even tributary Germanic peoples, rolled their fiercest onslaughts. At Chalons, in 451, the conflict was fought. Theodoric fell, sword in hand; but at last the skill of Aetius triumphed. The Hun is said to have lost 300,000 men; in any case, he lost the battle, and with it his chance to have Europe for his front yard. His spent force ebbed sluggishly back through Italy to the East. At Rome, Pope Leo by his intercession turned the Hun from his prey; as ever, the Italian fever, and the harrying of Aetius from the rear, aided this decision.

After the Vandal raid, Germanic overlords ruled Italy. Rikimer, Orestes, and Odovaker were chief of these; the last named, in 476, deposed the emperor, Romulus Augustulus the Little, and sent him to live in luxurious imprisonment in a villa near Naples. Not daring to rule as emperor, Odovaker ruled as representative of the distant emperor in Constantinople. Thus, in name, Italy became a province of the Eastern or Greek half of the empire; after 476, there was no emperor in the West for more than three hundred years.

When the Visigoths sought refuge across the Danube in 376, an eastern division of the Goths, the Ostrogoths, had yielded to the Huns. After the death of Attila, they recovered their independence, and forced their way across the Danube. In 489, Theodoric, their gigantic young king asked leave of Zeno, the emperor at Constantinople, to reconquer Rome for him.

Permission was granted, and after four years of fighting Odovaker was conquered, and, at a banquet, foully murdered. Thereupon Theodoric established a just and progressive kingdom in Italy; but, at his death without a son, it fell to pieces, and was destroyed by the Eastern Empire.

It was under the great Eastern lawgiver Justinian that this final act in the ancient story of Italy took place. After he had reconquered Africa, the Mediterranean islands, and part of Spain he caught at the troubled conditions after the death of Theodoric, and sent his generals Belisarius and Narses to regain the ancient Roman capital. For twenty dreadful years the war raged; it destroyed at once the Gothic race and the rising greatness of the peninsula. Rome itself was sacked by the Gothic king Totila, in 546; for eleven days afterwards the city was left entirely uninhabited. In 568, the Teutonic Lombards moved into Italy, establishing their chief kingdom in the Po valley, which ever since has kept the name Lombardy. The empire retained the city of Rome, the extreme South, and a few scattered settlements. Thus the rich middle land of Italy, for which Roman and Teuton had struggled for more than two centuries, was at last divided between them, and shattered into fragments in the process. Italy was not united again until 1870.

Summary.—Our civilization began some seven thousand years ago, in the fertile valleys of Egypt and western Asia. The contributions of Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, and lesser

Oriental powers to our culture was mainly material; the Hebrews alone contributed the religion that dominated the civilization for some two thousand years.

Then came Greece, who set the intellectual pace. In art, literature, philosophy, and some sciences, they assumed a leadership which they held for almost two thousand years. Under Alexander the Macedonian, they conquered the East, and temporarily welded the known world into a Hellenistic whole.

The historical center of gravity now shifted to the West. A crude and essentially unoriginal Latin city, little Rome on the Tiber, grew steadily to power. It borrowed liberally from its neighbors,—cruelties such as the gladiatorial games from the Etruscans, a veneer of culture from the Greeks. Once developed, its unique national genius was seen to lie in government and law, as distinctly as Greece stands for art and intellectual culture. Virgil, with no thought but to praise Rome, phrased this accurately:

Others, I grant, shall with more delicacy
Mold the pliable brass; from marble draw
The features to the life; plead causes better,
Describe with a rod the courses of the heavens,
And wash with light the rising of the stars.
To rule the nations with imperial sway—
This be thy care, O Roman. These thy arts:
To set the terms of peace; to spare the humbled;
To crush the proud, by the measureless might
of Rome!

The Greeks, aside from their own contributions to civilization, had collected the arts and sciences of all the nations of antiquity. Rome

preserved this common treasure of mankind; and herself added laws and institutions which have influenced all later time. The Roman Empire, says Freeman, "is the central lake in which all the streams of ancient history lose themselves, and out of which all the streams of modern history flow." It was not Rome's genius in war, great as that was, which enabled her to make and keep the world Roman. She had her Fabius, her Scipios, her Caesar, and many another; but there had been Alexander and Hannibal before the Gallic wars, and there have been great captains since. It was Rome's political wisdom and her organizing power. She knew how to conquer by isolating her enemies; she knew how to weld them to her, once they were conquered, into a whole that grew wider and stronger.

One problem she could not solve, for all her hectic reformers: the social problem of extreme poverty. This, and its corollary extreme wealth, were the primary causes of her downfall. The early strife between patrician and plebeian was by no means a strife of rich against poor. The plebeians included many of the rich, including most of the merchant class. It was more a class of the hereditary wealthy against the new wealthy. Down to the period of the hundred years Punic Wars, Rome had a well-to-do middle class of yeoman farmers; these meant a democratic national bedrock.

The Punic Wars destroyed this class. The glittering slogans like "Carthage must be destroyed!" with their deceptive mirage of patriotic prosperity for every Roman, lured the

yeomen to give their all to the struggle. Those that did not die in the long hemorrhage of war returned to find their land made worthless by the Punic scourge, and thereafter taken from them by trickery on the part of the profiteers that spring up like fungoids during war-time. Twenty years after Carthage was sowed with salt, there was no yeoman class left in Italy: there were only the gluttoned rich and the propertiless city rabble.

With no united opposition anywhere in the world, Rome lasted five hundred years longer. But the poison had started, and nothing stopped its course. The rich grew richer, and the poor poorer. There could be no nobility, no real patriotism, no pride to make a man give his life for his brotherhood of men, in magnates so wealthy that they were perforce led into extravagant luxury, and in men so poor that, if they were not given free grain, they starved in the streets. The civilization grew old and ailing; the birth rate fell, the caliber of the Romans still living fell still more. Out of the northern wilderness poured a horde without organization or understanding of the treasure spread out in the rich south-land. But they were enough; and the last three hundred years of Rome's existence was a story of crumbling, the slow and hideous crumbling of a body whose heart is already dead.

Rome gave us government and law: good gifts, necessary to a young civilization. And man is stretching toward his maturity.

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